

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 070434

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT PRETORIA 1563 SENT ACTION SECSTATE IN DAR ES SALAAM
GABORONE LAGOS LONDON LUSKAKA MAPUTO CAPE TOWN USUN MAR 17.

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 1563

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: MEETING WITH SALISBURY REPRESENTATIVES

REF: STATE 067376

SUMMARY: AT PRETORIA MEETING, RHODESIAN REPRESENTATIVES
WERE SKEPTICAL ABOUT PROPOSED CONFERENCE, BUT REITERATED
THAT NEW EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WOULD MAKE JOINT DECISION ON
SALISBURY GROUP ATTENDANCE. RHODESIANS RELAYED SMITH'S
URGING THAT US AND UK WORK THROUGH KAUNDA TO BRING ABOUT
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NKOMO'S PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY

TWO AND ONE HALF HOUR MEETING WAS HELD WITH RHO-
DESIAN GROUP TODAY, MARCH 17, AT BRITISH EMBASSY. UK
SIDE INCLUDED JOHN GRAHAM, HENRY STEEL, AND AMBASSADOR
SIR DAVID SCOTT. JACK GAYLARD WAS ACCOMPANIED BY GEORGE
SMITH (DIRECTOR OF LEGAL DRAFTING) AND RHODESIAN DIPLO-

MATIC REPRESENTATIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA, HAROLD HAWKINS.
EMBASSY POLCONS TAYLOR SAT IN ON THE MEETING.

2. GRAHAM REVIEWED THE HISTORY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND CONCLUDED WITH THE AGREED TALKING POINTS (STATE 067376). GAYLARD REPLIED THAT THE RHODESIAN POSITION WAS THE SAME AS PRIME MINISTER SMITH'S RECENT PUBLIC COMMENT ON THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE. GAYLARD REPEATED THE POINTS MADE BY SMITH THAT ANY DECISION ON THE CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE TO BE JOINTLY MADE BY THE FOUR SALISBURY LEADERS AND THERE WOULD BE NO PURPOSE AT SUCH A CONFERENCE IN REOPENING MATTERS ALREADY DECIDED (IN THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT). ADDING ANOTHER POINT, GAYLARD SAID THE BASIS OF THE CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE KNOWN INCLUDING ITS STRUCTURE, PARTICIPATION AND THE SUBJECTS OF DISCUSSION.

3. GAYLARD NOTED THAT THE THREE BLACK LEADERS--MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND CHIRAU--HAD ALL BEEN MORE FORTHRIGHT IN THEIR REJECTION OF THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE THAN SMITH. GAYLARD SAID THAT IT WAS HOPED THAT THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WOULD BE ESTABLISHED NEXT WEEK, HOPEFULLY ON TUESDAY. AS SOON THEREAFTER AS POSSIBLE, HE SAID, THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL COULD MAKE ITS DECISION ON ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE.

4. GAYLARD ASKED SEVERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ATTITUDE AND THE FORMAT FOR THE PROPOSED CONFIDENTIAL

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ERENCE. HE ASKED IF THERE WER ANY SIGNS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS SOFTENING ON ITS DEMAND FOR CONTROL OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL AND WHAT SORT OF TRANSITION GOVERNMENT THEY WOULD ACCEPT. HE ALSO ASKED IF ZUPO WOULD BE INCLUDED AS A SEPARATE DELEGATION AT THE CONFERENCE. GRAHAM REPLIED THAT THAT WAS OUR INTENTION, WHILE STEEL SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE BETTER NOT TO BE SPECIFIC ABOUT PARTICIPATION. GAYLARD OBJECTED AND EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF CLARIFYING THE ORGANIZATION OF ANY MEETING. HE REFERRED TO THE "OBSTRUCTIONIST" PF ATTITUDE AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND WARNED THAT A REPEAT OF SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD BE "COMPLETELY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE". GAYLARD REPEATED THAT THE DECISION WOULD BE UP TO THE NEW EXECUTIVE COUNCIL BUT SAID HE THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY A FORMAT FOR A CONFERENCE COULD BE FOUND ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THROUGHOUT THE MEETIN HE REITERATED THAT THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT WOULD STAND. HE SAID ALL CONCERNED IN SALISBURY WERE ANXIOUS TO GET ON WITH THE DRAFTING OF THE CONSTITUTION AND WORKING OUT THE OTHER PRESSING PROBLEMS BEFORE INDEPENDENCE.

5. GAYLARD SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN ASKED BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THE IMPORTANCE OF TRYING TO BRING NKOMO INTO THE SETTLEMENT. SMITH, GAYLARD SAID, BELIEVED KAUNDA WAS THE KEY. THE ZAMBIAN ECONOMIC SITUATION IS DISASTROUS, HE SAID, AND THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER OF BEING PUSHED INTO THE COMMUNIST CAMP. SMITH, HE SAID, BELIEVED THE WEST COULD BRING KAUNDA BACK INTO THE FOLD THROUGH ECONOMIC AID AND, HE IMPLIED, NKOMO COULD THUS BE PERSUADED TO JOIN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. AT THIS POINT GRAHAM ON INSTRUCTION WARNED OF THE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE RECENT RHODESIAN RAID INTO ZAMBIA. GAYLARD REPLIED THAT KAUNDA "A SHORT WHILE AGO" HAD REDUCED HIS CONSTRAINTS ON THE GUERRILLAS AND RHODESIA WOULD BE ASKING FOR TROUBLE IF IT DID
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NOT HIT BACK. STEEL POINTED OUT THAT IF KAUNDA WAS THE KEY TO A SETTLEMENT, THIS WAS NO WAY TO GET GOOD RESULTS.

6. NEAR THE END OF THE MEETING GAYLARD NOTED THAT "SOME OF OUR EXPERTS BELIEVE NKOMO HAS PASSED THE POINT OF NO RETURN." RECENT CONTACTS, HE SAID, HAD CONFIRMED NKOMO'S POSITION THAT HE WOULD ONLY COME BACK IF ASSURED THE TOP POSITION.

7. THROUGHOUT THE MEETING, IN RESPONSE TO CRITICISM, GAYLARD DEFENDED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT ASSERTING THAT IT REPRESENTED A TRANSITION STAGE IN THE TRANSFER OF POWER, THAT SMITH AS PRIME MINISTER ENJOYED NO MORE REAL AUTHORITY THAN THE THREE BLACKS AND THAT FREE ELECTIONS WOULD BE FAIRLY CONDUCTED. HE ASKED WHAT THE UK AND US WOULD DO IN A NUMBER OF CONTINGENCIES SUCH AS THE MILITARY SITUATION EASING OFF OR A LARGE TURN OUT OF VOTERS IN THE ELECTION. GRAHAM REFUSED TO BE DRAWN OUT ON THESE HYPOTHETICAL QUESTIONS AND REITERATED THE NEED TO FIND A WAY TO BRING ALL THE PARTIES TOGETHER FOR DISCUSSION ON THE BASIS OF THE ANGLO/AMERICAN PLAN BUT WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITION OF THE PARTICIPANTS. SIR DAVID EMPHASIZED THAT THE REAL TEST OF ANY SETTLEMENT WAS ENDING THE WAR.

8. PRIOR TO THE MEETING, POLCONS SUGGESTED TO GRAHAM THAT IF THERE SEEMED TO BE NOTHING MORE TO SAY, WE SHOULD AVOID A SECOND SESSION. AT END OF THE MEETING, ALTHOUGH SUBJECT APPEARED EXHAUSTED, IT WAS AGREED TO HAVE SHORT MEETING AGAIN TOMORROW, MARCH 18, AT 9:30 A.M. SITHOLE AIDE GOPO ARRIVED PRETORIA TODAY AND SEPARATE MEETING WITH HIM IS ALSO PLANNED FOR TOMORROW, WHICH POLCONS WILL ATTEND.
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